Upon the Resolution declaring the Compromise Measures to be a definitive Adjustment of all questions growing out of Domestic Slavery; delivered in the

Senate, Tuesday, December 23, 1851. Mr. PRESIDENT: It is not my intention to go into an elaborate discussion of the measures known as the Compromise, nor of the resolution presented by the senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote.] At the close of the long session which adopted those measures, I ry question in the halls of Congress. I regard all ous, and out of place. Yet in the course of this debate certain points have been presented to the public view in connexion with my course which require me briefly to respond; and if, in doing so, I am constrained to refer somewhat in detail to myself, my votes, speeches, and general course of conduct, I trust it will be attributed to no spirit of egotism on my part, but to the necessity imposed upon me by others to

vindicate my action and character. The senator from Texas, [Mr. Honston,] in the course of his speech, took occasion to say that he was the only senator now holding a seat upon this floor who voted for all the measures of compromise. That may be so for aught I know to the contrary. But the inference drawn from that remark, and the distinct idea conveyed by it, do great injustice to me, and perhaps to other senators. I voted, sir, for all the measures of the Compromise but one; and I undertake to say, in regard to that one, that it was well known to the Senate before the measure passed, and at the time it passed, and has been distinctly proclaimed to the country since, that I would have voted for the fugitive-slave law if I could have been in the Senate at the time, and that I was anxious to be here for the purpose of casting that vote. I say it was distinctly known, because I had so declared in debate prior to the passage of that act; because every senator on both sides of the chamber who conversed with me knew that I was friendly to the measure; and because when I returned home, before my own constituents, I assumed the responsibility of an affirmative vote upon the bill. Yet, sir, the imputation has been repeatedly made by implication on this floor, and in express terms by the partisan journals, that all those whose names are not recorded on the passage of the bill dodged the question! Whatever political sins I may at any time have committed, I think I may safely assert that no senator ever doubted my willingness to assume the full measure of responsibility resulting from my official position. The dodging of votes-the attempt to avoid responsibility-is no part of my system of political tactics. And yet, sir, the special organ of the administration has on several occasions accused me, in connexion with the distinguished senator from Michigan, with having dodged the vote on this bill. In order to put this

accusation to rest, once for all, now and forever, I have concluded to give a detailed account of the circumstances which occasioned my absence at the time the bill passed, although it may subject me to the mortification of exposing my private and pecuniary affairs to the public view. I had a pecuniary obligation, maturing in New York, for near four thousand in Chicago. Apprehending that my public duties year ago, and fifty thousand copies were distribu- having used improper means, or any means to influ- ernment as their neighbors and kindred whom they with reference to these very compromise questions might render it improper to leave the city when the day of payment arrived, I made an arrangement with Mr. Maury, president of the Bank of the Metropolis, to arrange the matter for me temporarily until my official duties would enable me to give it my personal attention. Feeling entirely secure under this arrangement, I thought no more of it until, on the day the debt became due, I received a note from Mr. Maury expressing his deep regret and mortification that, in consequence of the unexpected absence of a majority of the directors of his bank on that day, he was unable to carry out the arrangement. I thus found the ladiciary Consists intelligence and honesty to be intrusted to the ladiciary Consists intelligence and honesty to be intrusted. myself suddenly placed in the position in which I was compelled to go to New York instantly, or to suffer my note to be protested, and the commercial credit of my endorser to be greatly impaired. I immediately passed around the chamber, and inquired of several senators on each side friendly to the fugitive bill whether I could venture to be absent three ting could begin. Relying implicitly upon this assurance, I went from the Senate chamber directly to the cars, and, riding all night, arrived in New York the next day. Meeting several Illinois friends there. I was enabled to meet the obligation, and avoid a protest during the three days' grace allowed me by aw. While dining with these friends at the Astor House on the day I had concluded my business, one of them alluded to the fact that the fugitive bill had been ordered to be engressed for a third reading in the Senate. I expressed my surprise, and doubted the correctness of the statement. He then showed me the paper containing the telegraphic announcement, when I immediately rose from the table, and told my friends that I must leave for Washington that afternoon, in order to be able to rote for the bill on its final passage the next day. I will take the liberty of mentioning the names of some of the gentlemen to whom this announcement was made. Among them was Judge Dickey, of the northern circuit of Illinois; Mr. McElroy, the district attorney; Mr. Cook, the sheriff of Cook county; and, I believe, Mr. Gurner, the present mayor of the city of Chicago, and several others of the most respectable citizens of my State. I left New York in the five o'clock train that afternoon, and, after riding all night, on my arrival here the next day, I found that the final vote had been taken the day previous. I immediately consulted with my colleague, now present, [Mr. Shields,] who authorizes me to say that he distinctly recollects the authorizes me to say that he distinctly recollects the conversation in which I expressed my deep regret rectly, and fearlessly, and endeavored to apply the that I could not have arrived here in time to vote for proper remedy. Whether the remedy proposed by the bill, and that I intended then to ask of the Senate permission to explain the cause of my absence; is a fair subject of discussion, and will doubtless give in reply to which my colleague suggested that such an explanation would be entirely unnecessary, for the reason that it was well known to the Senate and the responsible for was an in such as an interpretation of the committee to report them. On that day I report unjust. I am willing to be held responsible for all my agitation arose in connexion with the annexation of the committee reservant that it was well known to the Senate and the right to oppose any portion of them his judgcountry that I was in favor of the bill, and for the further reason that in all probability the hill would undergo some amendment in the House of Representation to see it incorporated in the bill which annexed Texas to the United States. I did which annexed Texas to the United States. I down it a matter of much moment as applicable tatives, which would require it to be returned to the Senate for concurrence, when I would have an op-Senate for concurrence, when I would have an opportunity not only of speaking but of voting for the bill. I acquiesced in this suggestion of my colleague, and for that reason made no explanation at that time. A few days afterwards, as you well know, (Mr. Shields being in the chair,) and as many other senators may recollect, I was taken ill, and rendered in- other mode of adjustment; and this assumption restcapable of being in the Senate but a few times du-ring the residue of the session. I was confined to been the means of an amicable settlement of a fearmy bed for several weeks, extending beyond the ad-journment, having been rendered a cripple by a sur-in cheerfully and cordially by the people for more gical operation on one hip. So soon as I was able to than a quarter of a century, and which all parties and be removed, I was taken home under the care and sections of the Union profess to respect and cherish kind attention of one of my colleagues of the House as a fair, just, and honorable adjustment. I could of Representatives. Everywhere on my route I discover no reason for the application of the Missouri found the most boisterous and determined opposition to the fugitive law; but nowhere was the excitement in 1821 that would not apply with equal force to its so fierce and terrific as at Chicago, where I had re-cently taken up my residence. There the press and soon as we should acquire the country. In accordthe pulpit had joined in the work of m'srepresentation ance with these views, I brought forward the Misand denunciation. A spirit of determined resistance souri Compromise at the session of 1844-'45 as aphad been incited, and seemed to pervade the whole plicable to Texas, and had the satisfaction to see it community. The common council of the city, in its adopted. Subsequently, after the war with Mexico official capacity, had passed resolutions denouncing the fugitive-slave law as a violation of the law of God and the constitution of the United States, calling upon the police of the city to disregard it, and the wastern the citizens not to obey it. The next night a meeting of 2,000 people assembled; and in that to my vote, I voted against the bill—which I would bus as a joint measure. I also supported each measure that the missour comprising to the Pacina as a substitute for the Wilmot proviso. When the protocolor tween our bills, and the Senate took out the waster tween our bills, meeting, in the midst of the most terrific applause, it otherwise have supported—because the proviso was worted bills should be passed in the precise form I had re- Those who preach peace should not be the first to the grave," in resistance to the execution of the law. into the three-million bill, I voted against the bill for ported them. I desired to see the controversy ter-I walked into that meeting, and from the stand gave the same reason. The next time I had the opportuni- minated, and was willing to take the measures jointly notice that on the next night I would appear there ty of voting on the proviso was in the spring of 1848, or separately, or in any form in which they could be a separately of the same reason. The next time I had the opportuni- or separately, or in any form in which they could be a separately or separately. and defend every measure of the Compromise, and in the Senate, pending the ratification of the treaty pass both houses of Congress. I reported them seespecially the fugitive-slave law, from each and every of peace with Mexico, when it was offered as an parately because I had ascertained the fact from actual

es of my absence that I have given to-day, and called upon the gentlemen whose names I have stated to the structions. The Wilmot proviso being thus dispossible vote was taken, and who were in the meeting when the Chicago speech was made, to confirm my statement in regard to my absence, and my wish at statement in regard to my absence, and my wish at statement in regard to my absence, and my wish at statement in regard to my absence, and my wish at what kind of territorial governments should be esstatement in regard to my absence, and my wish at that time to vote for the law. You will also find in that speech that I vind cate the law in respect to both the great parties to do as they pleased when they became a State. Yet the instruction was designed and deemed sufficient to compare the law in respect to both the great parties to do as they pleased when they became a State. Yet the instruction was designed and deemed sufficient to compare the law in respect to both the great parties acquiesce in the Compromise as a final settlement, but I do not wish to have a new party organized on every law to the compare the law in respect to both the great parties acquiesce in the Compromise as a final settlement, but I do not wish to have a new party organized on every law to the compromise as a final settlement. that speech that I vind cate the law in respect to out its constitutionality and necessity; that I defend it as suddenly called me from the capital, and detained me cient to compel me to resign my seat and give place the basis of that measure. The democratic party is its constitutionality and necessity; that I defend it as several weeks. On my return I found pending beto a freesoiler, for there could have been no expectaas good a Union party as I want, and I wish it to a whole, and in all its parts; that I answer every out several weeks. On any local desired as good a Union party as I want, and I wish it to jection that has ever been urged against it. The obresolved never to make all the first of the writ of habeas corpus, to records from other states, to the fees of the commissioners, to the pains and penin fees of the commissioners and the penin fees of the commissioners are penin fees of the commissioners and the penin fees of the commissioners are penthe ingenuity and fanaticism of abolitionism could committee of the most eminent and distinguished with safety. Knowing that this combination of er, and the slavery question must of necessity continthe ingenuity and fanaticism of abolitionism could be described in that interest was fully and conclusively answered in that interest of the Senate, fairly representing all the whigs and freesoilers flattered themselves that they ue the sole topic of discussion and controversy. That invent was fully and conclusively answered in that inemters of the Union. This speech—at least to the satisfaction of that vast asspeech—at least to the satisfaction of that vast asspeech—at least to the satisfaction of the Union. This from the Senate and give place to a freesoiler who it was the object of the Compromise to prevent. I speech—at least to the satisfaction of that vast assemblage of people. I am extremely reluctant to
semblage of people. I am semblage of people. I am extremely reluctant to receive the sanction of both houses of Congress, would come here and carry out abolition doctrines, I would therefore say to the friends of those measures, and come here and carry out abolition doctrines, I would therefore say to the friends of those measures, and come here and carry out abolition doctrines, I would therefore say to the friends of those measures, and come here and carry out abolition doctrines, I would therefore say to the friends of those measures, and come here and carry out abolition doctrines, I would therefore say to the friends of those measures, and come here and carry out abolition doctrines, I let us cease agitating, stop the debate, and drop the the city, a majority of whom had the night previously my cordial support, and passed the Senate by an ovthe city, a majority of whom had the night previously pledged themselves to open and violent resistance, after the speech was concluded, unanimously adopted the House of Representatives. The controversy beafter the speech was concluded, unammously amples and caring reopened with increased violence, and my posia series of resolutions in favor if sustaining and caring reopened with increased violence, and my posiwithout the Committee on Territories to the opinions of others, but with the firmest convica series of resolutions in favor if sustaining and tion at the head of the Territorial Committee requirions, in order that the record tion of their correctness. ng by myself, and cover the entire ground. I will for the whole series:

and religious duty to pass all laws necessary to carry that provision of the constitution into effect.

" Resolved, That we will stand or fall by the Amecious hopes of the future."

edict Arnolds, and Judas Iscariots, Mr. Morris offer- or opinion should be made subservient to the public vote for this and one or two other amendments emedict Arnolds, and Judas Iscarios, Mr. Moris offer of the subject, the com-Chicago upon the subject of the fugitive-slave law tution and settle the question of slavery afterwards to my return home to my constituents, and in that same passed by Congress at its last session.

It only remains for me to state that the same city coun-

uullifying resolutions by a vote of twelve to one, Now, Mr. President, I have given you a detailed account of my course in relation to the fugitive law.

self-defence, I will refer to one other point. I have recently seen it stated in several papers that at some time, and on some occasion, I have been the advocate and supporter of the Wilmot proviso. This charge, upon investigation, will be found to be as unjust and of the United States, as in the case of the reclama- came my duty to prepare and submit some plan of and of all the compromises of the constitution. tion of fugitives from labor. The first important vote adjustment. Early in December, within the first Now, Mr. President, I have done with these ex-I ever gave in the House of Representatives was in favor of the rule excluding abolition petitions, and my vote stands recorded against its repeal at the time it was abolished. My action here since I have been me has always been the wisest and most appropriate souri Compromise as applicable to that Territory, and importance in view of the probable acquisition of ery objection urged to it; and I called upon the entire amendment to the treaty, I believe by a senator from people of the city to come and hear me. I told that body of men there assembled, in the face of their denunciations and of their threats, that I was right and viso. This was the last vote ever taken on the Wilton

here and there an individual exception-that there

The great argument in favor of this bill was, that it recognised the right of the people to determine all speech. Speaking of the territorial bills, I say: have no comments to make upon it. I submit the questions relating to their domestic concerns in their facts, and leave the Senate and the country to draw own way, and authorized them to do so uninfluenced damental principle that every people ought to posses their own conclusions. These facts are not now sub- by executive dictation, or by the apprehension that, the right of forming and regulating their own intermitted for the first time. They are contained in the unless they decided the slavery question in a particupamphlet copy of the Chicago speech, which I hold lar way, their application for admission would be re- way. It was supposed that those of our fellow citimy hand, and which, I repeat, was laid on the ta- jected by Congress. I do not endorse, and never did zens who emigrated to the shores of the Pacific and ble of every senator and representative more than a sanction, the charge against the late administration of to our other Territories were as capable of self-goved by senators and representatives to every portion of ence the decision of the people of California upon this left behind them; and there was no reason for believthe Union. I may also be permitted to add that, so question; but I do say, that had this bill become the ing that they have lost any of their intelligence or far as my knowledge or belief extends, this was the law of the land no such charge would ever have been patriotism by the wayside, while crossing the isthmus first published speech ever made in a free State in de- made or suspicion entertained. The great misfortune or the plains. At was also believed that after their fence of the fugitive-law, and the Chicago meeting was the first public assemblage in any free State that improper influences were used to produce the result liar with its topography, climate, productions, and determined to support and sustain it. At Chicago the in California. They do not deny the right of the peo- resources, and had connected their destiny with it, reaction commenced. There rebellion and treason ple of California to make that decision; but they in- they were fully as competent to judge for themselves received their first check, the fanatical and revolution- sist that the right should have been exercised freely, what kind of laws and institutions were best adapted ary spirit was rebuked, and the supremacy of the con- and uninfluenced by any act of the agents of the ad- to their condition and interests as we were who nevstitution and laws asserted and maintained. I claim ministration, or of the apprehension of an adverse de- er saw the country and knew very little about it. no credit for the part I acted. I did no more than cision by Congress in the event that they had decided To question their competency to do this was to deny done my duty, and for that I was entitled to exempt the Judiciary Committee reported against and the requisite intelligence and honesty to be intrusted unanimity of the views of the democratic party as to tion from the repeated charges by the special organ Senate refused to pass my bill to admit California as with the enactment of the time and place of holding a National Convention they renounced three-quarters of a century since, that of the administration, and other partisan prints, of a State, leaving the question of Slavery open to be white men, I know of no reason why they should to nominate candidates for President and Vice Presihaving dodged the question. I never dodge a ques- decided afterwards by the people, and thus cut off all not be deemed competent to legislate for the negro. dent of the United States, according to the usages of so great a convergence of interests, as that we now the laws for the usages of the us having dodged the question. I never dodge a question. I never dodge a question. I never dodge a question. I never shrink from any responsibility which my position and duty justly devolve upon me. I never shrink from any responsibility which my position and duty justly devolve upon me. I never dodge a question. I never dodge a question of the unit we not to decided afterwards by the people, and thus cut of all not be deemed competent to registate to the committee met in the City of Washington at 1 o'clock on said day.

So great a convergence of interests, as that we not the party,'' the committee met in the City of Washington at 1 o'clock on said day.

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mencement of that memorable long session when the with these views in all cases, except the instances late compromise measures were adopted. Mr. Pres- in which I voted under your instructions. Those ident, I may be permitted here to pause and remark were your votes and not mine. I entered my protest that during the period of five years that I was labor- against them at the time-before and after they were nufounded as that in regard to the fugitive law. In ing for the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, recorded-AND SHALL NEVER HOLD MYSELF RESPONSIorder to put the question at rest and beyond dispute forever. I will take a brief review of my course on dental questions touching slavery, were given with This speech wa forever, I will take a brief review of my course on the whole slavery agitation, and show clearly and distinctly the principles by which my action upon the subject has always been governed. It is no part of my purpose on the present occasion to vindicate the my purpose on the present occasion to vindicate the my purpose on the present occasion to vindicate the my voter on the Oregon question, and upon an incidental questions touching slavery, were given with
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the Chair to ascertain what Staes are repreference to a settlement on that basis, and are conted all over the State. A few was the chair to as

two or three weeks of the session, I wrote, and laid planations, and I trust forever. If I have said anybefore my committee for their examination and ap-thing which savors of egotism, I know the Senate proval, two bills-one for the admission of California will pardon me, and at the same time sympathize in into the Union, and the other containing three dis- the necessity which has imposed it upon me. If I co; and, third, for the settlement of the Texas boun- who are connected with me. In view of all the dary. These bills remained before the Committee on facts, I submit the question whether the charge or in-Territories from the month of December until the sinuation that I was at any time favorable to the Wil-25th of March before I could obtain the consent of mot proviso was and is not grossiy ungenerous and ions of those two bills. Those bills were on my of them, I will acknowledge them like a man and motion ordered to be printed, and laid on the table promptly correct them I wish to avoid no responof each member of both houses of Congress. These sibility. I do not belong to that school of poliprinted bills having laid on your table about four weeks, the Senate, on motion of Mr. Foote, appointed a committee of thirteen, with the distinguished senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay] at its head. That committee took my two printed bills, joined them to-gether with a wafer, and reported them to the Sen-tily tired of the controversy, and I know the country ate as one bill-which is well known to the country is disgusted with it. In regard to the resolutions of as the "omnibus bill." If any gentleman has the the senator from Mississippi, I will be pardoned for curiosity to investigate this matter, he can walk to saying that I much doubt the wisdom and expediency the Secretary's table and inspect the original omni-bus bill. He will find that it consists of two print-escing in the compromise measures—everywhere, ed bills with a wafer between them, and a black line drawn through the words "Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories," and in lieu of them are inserted these other words: "Mr. Clay, from the ginal question. But since they have been adopted, and Committee of Thirteen," reported the following bill. time has been given for a little cool reflection, every-The committee had also made some slight and com-body seems to be disposed to treat them as a final paratively unimportant amendments, nearly all of settlement of an unprofitable controversy. So long which were disagreed to by the Senate. The Com- as our opponents do not agitate for repeal or modificamittee of Thirteen, therefore, did not originate or write tion, why should we agitate for any purpose? We any one measure contained in the omnibus. They claim that the Compromise is a final settlement. Is availed themselves of the labors of the Committee of Territories, and their distinguished chairman did and controversy, by its friends? What manner of

tween our bills, and the Senate took out the wafer Compromise becoming the agitators, and will not the count that they could pass separately, and could nev-

er pass jointly.
Mr. President, I claim no oredit for having originated and proposed the measures contained in the their proposition to repeal the fugitive law? When they were wrong, and if they would come and hear mot proviso-the last that ever could be taken upon omnibus. There was no peculiar or remarkable fea- such a proposition shall be brought in, let some senait as applicable to the country acquired from Mexico,
The rext night, in the presence of 4,000 people, in for the reason that by this treaty we acquired the country well adapted to the circumstances, and will—and state that the country regards the Compro-

sponsibility of an affirmative vote on the passage of ing with the original States. I denounced this proin each house with a few freesoil democrats, had passlieve the course I indicate to be the true interest of chairman to vote for the second Monday in June
the friends of the Compromise. Besides, any atthe time, and Baltimore as the place to the friends of the course I indicate to be the true interest of the course I i sponsibility of an affirmative vote on the passage of the convention of the causting me to vote for a bill for the law, and made the same explanation of the causting me to vote for a bill for the government of the territory acquired from Mexitable and publicly declared that I never voted for it, and publicly declared that I never voted for it is an indicate the public vote of the convention. the law, and made the same explanation of the causthe law, and made the same explanation of the causthe law, and made the same explanation of the causthe law, and made the same explanation of the causthe law, and made the same explanation of the causthe law, and made the same explanation of the causthe government of the territory acquired from Mexithe pressure of inthe government of the territory acquired from Mexithe pressure of inthe pressu jections relating to the right of trial by jury, to the old creed. If the Compro-writ of habeas corpus, to records from other States, to proposed as chairman of the Territorial Committee struction, at the same time that they knew that the mise is to be made the test of faith, the two parties speak of the effect of my own speeches; but it is a speak of the effect of my own part of the history of that transaction that the meet and the part of the history of that transaction that the meet and the part of the history of that transaction that the meet and the proof of these considerations, the bill received had I been certain that all the measures of the Computer of the composition of the composition of the computer of the composition of the computer o laws in respect to the surrender of fugitive slaves. The just settlement, I brought forward my original proposition to extend the Missouri Compromise to the Pa- ment in the precise language of my instructions. I only detain the Senate while I read one or two of cific in the same sense and with the same understand- knew that the amendment could not prevail, even if them, and refer to the pamphlet copy of the speech ing with which it was originally adopted. This proposition met with the approbation of the Senate, and in its favor. But if I resigned my place to an aboli-"Resolved, That so long as the constitution of the passed this body by a large majority, but was instant- tionist, it was almost certain that the bills would fail United States provides that all persons held to service by rejected in the House of Representatives by a still on their passage. After consulting with my colleague or labor in one State escaping into another State, larger majority. The day of adjournment having ar-SHALL BE DELIVERED UP on the claim of the party rived, no further effort was made to adjust the diffi- to the conclusion that duty required that I should reto whom the service or labor may be due, and so culty during that session. At the opening of the next tain my seat. I was prepared to fight and defy abolong as members of Congress are required to take session, upon consultation with the friends of the litionism in all its forms, but I was not willing to rean oath to support the constitution, it is their solemn measure, it was generally conceded—with, perhaps, pudiate the settled doctrine of my State in regard to ed by the Democratic National Convention of 1848, the right of instruction. Before the vote was taken, was no hope left for the Missouri Compromise, and I made a speech reviewing my course on the slavery to fill vacancies, assembled in this city, in pursuance consequently some other plan of adjustment must be question and defining my position. I denounced the of a well-considered call for that purpose, at which rican Union and its constitution, with all its compro- devised. I was reluctant to give up the Missouri doctrine of the amendment, declared my unalterable meeting, on the 29th and 30th of December, 1851, mises, with its glorious memories of the past and prewrrd, and having struggled for it in both houses of might be recorded in my name seemingly in its favor The city council having nullified the law, and de- Congress for above five years. But public duty de- would be the vote of those who gave the instructions, nounced me and other supporters of it as traitors, Ben- manded that all considerations of pride of character and not my own. Under this protest, I recorded a "Resolved, That we, the people of Chicago, repu- sure-and conceived the idea of a bill to admit Cali- test against them, and gave notice that I should not sion, which they respectfully submit for your ratifidiate the resolutions passed by the common council of fornia as a State, leaving the people to form a consti- hold myself responsible for them. Immediately on cation. suit themselves. I submitted this bill to the then Chicago speech to which I have referred, I renewed President of the United States, [Mr. Polk,] and have my protest against those votes, and repeated the nocil assembled on the next night, and repealed their the satisfaction of stating that it received his sanction, and was introduced by me with his approbation. were their votes and not mine. I will detain the Senate a moment while I read a passage from that

"These measures are predicated on the great fun-Mr. President, while I am engaged in the work of left-defence, I will refer to one other point. I have left-defence of the left in the work of left-defence of the lef

correctness of my views and principles, but simply period on this question, he has only to bear in mind terwards, the legislature assembled, and one of their to show what they are, and what my official acts have the Missouri Compromise, and then observe the first acts was to repeal the resolutions of instructions been, in order that the public may judge for them- perfect harmony between each vote and that measure, to which I have referred, and to pass resolutions apselves. I have always opposed the introduction of the subject of slavery into the halls of Congress for any purpose—either for discussion or action—except in the cases specified and enjoined by the constitution at at at the head of the Territorial Committee, it be-

tinct measures: first, for the establishment of a territorial government for Utah; second, for the establishment of a territorial government for New Mexi
I could not have done justice to myself and to those ing the right to oppose any portion of them his judg-ment should disapprove of, and I being the only member who was responsible for all the provis-errors, and doubtless have; but when I am convinced

country hold us responsible for that which we condemn and denounce in the abolitionists and free-soilcommence and re-open an old quarrel. Besides, what good can the passage of these resolutions accomplish? Will they add any new force or validity to the com-promise measures? They are already the law of the land, and must forever remain so unless repealed. Would it not be wiser, therefore, for all the friends of these measures to remain silent, and wait for the abolitionists to redeem their pledges to bring forward

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

To the Democratic Party throughout the Union.

WASHINGTON, January 1, 1852. A concentration of opinion from all the States, as far as practicable, upon some time and place for holding the next National Democratic Convention, is indispensable to the union and organization of the parfor the presidential canvass of 1852.

With this view the " Democratic National Committee," consisting of one from each State, appoint-" to promote the democratic cause," and with power the Union were represented. And, upon conference with democratic members of Congress, and consulting the action of State conventions, as far as they

The Democratic National Committee accordingly recommend that a Convention of the democratic party throughout the Union, by delegates duly appointed by the democrats of the several States, be held in the city of Baltimore on Tuesday, the 1st day of June, 1852, (at 12, m.,) to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, to be supported by the democratic party at the election on soil. How far those anticipations have been fulfilled Tuesday, the second day of November, 1852.

lowing recommendation as to the number of delegates lantic. Whatever has been denied us in this part of to be chosen in each State: "Resolved. That it be recommended that hereafter

each State be entitled to as many delegates in future ties or customs, which might appear due to our indemocratic national conventions as it has in the electoral college, and no more." By order of the Democratic National Committee:

B. F. HALLETT, Chairman. WM. F. RITCHIE, ? Secretaries.

Journal of Proceedings of the Democratic National Committee.

In pursuance of a circular call of November 1. 1851, addressed by the chairman to each of the members of the " Democratic National Committee," to in the midst of the Atlantic, or the opposite shore meet at Washington on the 29th day of December, suddenly drawn nearer by some thousand miles;

or four days for the purpose of attending to this item of business, and I received from them the discussion would continue at least a week, and probably two weeks longer, before the voting could begin. Relying implicitly upon this assame principle should not be extended to the Territo- siring the committee to proceed with their organiza- love one another; but there never was shown so sound Thereupon,

The Hon. Robert Strange, of North Carolina, was called to the chair, and (neither of the Secretaries being present) R. H. Stanton, of Kentucky, was ap-On motion of the Hon. W. A. Richardson, of Illnois, it was voted that a committee of three be ap- because he is able to discern the signs of the coming

and Riddle of Delaware, were appointed that com-

And the committee adjourned.

tutes were present, or in the city: Massachusells-B. F. HALLETT. Tennessee-E. P. STANTON. Louisiana-A. G. PENN. New York-EDWIN CROSWELL. Maryland-ALBERT CONSTABLE. Ohio-D. T. DISNEY. Virg nia-WM. F. RITCHIE. Connecticut-O. S. SEYMOUR. Delaware-George READ RIDDLE. New Jersey-ISAAC WILDRICK. Vermont-THOMAS BARTLETT, JR. Illinois-WM. A. RICHARDSON. Wisconsin-B. C. EASTMAN. North Carolina-Robert Strange. Michigan-Chas. E. STUART. Indiana-G. HATHAWAY.

New Hampshire-Chas. H. PEASLEE. Kentucky—R. H. STANTON.
Missouri—W. P. HALL.
Arkansas—R. W. JOHNSTON. Maine-CHARLES ANDREWS. Alabama-W. R. W. Cobb. Rhode Island-B. B. THURSTON. Pennsylvauia-John W. Forney. Florida-N. P. BEMIS.

It also appeared that there were two vacancies by death of the members from Texas and Iowa, and that no members or substitutes appeared for Georgia and Mississippi. California had no member, not having been a State in 1848. For these States, the com-

mittee reported: Texas-V. E. HOWARD. Iowa-G. W. Jones. Georgia-Joseph W. Jackson. Mississippi - J. D. FREEMAN.

California-E. C. MARSHALL. On motion of Mr. Seymour, of Connecticut it was voted that the action of the sub-committee be ratified by this meeting, and that the substitutes by said committee reported be considered members of the Democratic National Committee, and that the vacancies be filled in conformiy to their report,

After taking an informal vote as to the time and place of holding the National Convention the Committee adjourned.

[Note. The appointment of Mr. Freeman, of Mississippi, was made to supply the vacancy from that State, which was supposed to exist so far as the committee were advised. After the final adjournment, Thrasher. We cannot doubt, however, that he, too. the chairman received notification of the appointment, in writing, in pursuance of his power of substitution, by Mr. Duncan, the member for Minimal and Minimal and Mr. Duncan, the member for Minimal and Mr. Duncan, the by Mr. Duncan, the member for Mississippi, of the bis offence, even if he be guilty to the whole extent Hon. John J. McRhae, of the United States Senate, of the charge against him, is far less grave than was as his substitute, which appointment had not reached Washington seasonably for Mr. McRhae to take his tain a doubt that the Spanish government will take seat with the committee. Mr. Duncan was at New the same view of his oase. Orleans when he received the circular that had been directed to his residence at Grenada.] JANUARY 1, 1852.

morning-Hon. B. F. Hallett, of Massachusetts, be- suit as most auspicious in its bearing upon the future ing present, and taking the chair. William F. Ritchie, relations of both countries; and we hope that the that immense hall, with the city council and the abolitionists occupying positions in the front of the
the first secretary of the committee,
stand, which was negligible for these bills as they could pass both houses of Congress. Being resthat immense hall, with the city council and the abolitionists occupying positions in the front of the
they could pass both houses of Congress. Being resthey could pass both houses of Congress. Being resthey could pass both houses of Congress. Being resthey could pass both houses of Congress within foreign jurisdiction, may,
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their sole ment to consiste the council and the coun stand, which was partially surrounded in the rear by a large body of armed negroes, including many fugitive slaves, I stood, and made the speech which I now hold in my hand, and which I caused to be laid upon the table of every senator and of every repreupon the table of every senator and of every repre- faith of the nation that slavery should never exist in no provision upon the subject. And now I come to by a vote of five to one of the northern men, without morning of a letter from Gen. James M. Commander, sentative at the opening of the last session of Conthe country acquired, either while it remained in the
the main point, which explains the object of the dethe main point, which explains the object of the dethe main point, which explains the object of the dethe main point, which explains the object of the country acquired, either while it remained in the gress. In that speech, if any senator will take the trouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it, he will find that I assumed the retrouble to read it. he will find t

This completed the representation from all

Mr. Croswell, of New York, having been oh to leave the city for his home, Hon. David L. S. mour was authorized to cast his vote. Hon. Mr. Johnson was also empowered by M

Howard, of Texas, who was absent on accour sickness, to vote for him. Mr. Hall, of Missouri, offered the following

Resolved, That this committee recommend Bal more as the place, and the ---- day of the time, for holding the National Democratic vention.

The question being taken on filling the blanks,

was declared, it was made unanimous. Mr. Hathaway, of Indiana, moved to strike Baltimore and insert Cincinnati; which was agreed to. The resolution was then unanimously adopted

The chairman submitted to the committee the foof notice to the democratic party of the recommen tion of the National Convention; which was ado ted, and it was ordered that the same he signed by the chairman and secretaries, and published in the democratic newspapers of the Union. Mr. Freeman, of Mississippi, offered the following

Resolved, That the entire proceedings of this com mittee be signed by the chairman and secretaries, an published in the democratic presses of the Union, The committee then adjourned. B. F. HALLETT, Chairman

WM. F. RITCHIE, } Secretaries. R. H. STANTON, (

which was adopted:

[From the London Times, Dec. 10.] Since the day that Columbus set foot on a new world, America has been the land of promise and of hope to all who found Europe a house of bondage. Thither the refugees of politics, of religion, of commerce, and of fortune, have fled for ten generation preferring a clear field to a barren struggle. When ever the heart sickened at the thought of tyranny or

prejudice, it has always occurred that beyond the western wave their lay a vast continent, with many a hardy settler and many a rising city, that offered a last resource for the expatriated virtues, and that, if need be, might one day turn the tables, with overwhelming odds, against the old "hills of the robbers and the strongholds of ancient oppression. The old age of the world was on one side, but it youth was on the other, and a new spring of civiliza tion had still to blossom and bear fruit upon a fir it is needless to say to a nation which beholds itself

The National Convention of 1848 adopted the folthe world-that extension of territory, that predominance in European councils, that influence over polidustry and power, has been given us a hundredfold in America. Checkered as our fortunes are in all parts of the world, and not the least in the newest, we may yet see there the reward of many toils and the consolation of many regrets. Yet at no time, for the las three centuries and a half, has America worn so youth ful and promising an aspect to this country as at this moment; never has it appeared so much in the light of a friend in need, a land of refuge, and our des tined partner in many labors and many triumphs.

Could we suppose these islands suddenly planted would hardly express so great an approximation a been wanting reasons why any two nations should a cause for amity and mutual assistance, for community of interests and unity of action, as it has been measure which constitutes the principal advance on the American side towards this happy re-union; and

government, which every day assumes a more serious aspect, which every day draws nearer to this island, and which will one day divide the whole world. Itis not for nothing that we possess a position given us between the New and the Old World, a stepping stone from the Old to the New, and an outpost of the New in the Old. It is not for nothing that a gigantic state is fast growing up in the New World, inheriting from us the principles of constitutional freedom, somewhat modified to its peculiar circumstances. There are no two states in the whole world, and never have been, 50 bound to one another, so mutually beneficial, and so able to work together, as the British empire and the

At present it seems impossible but that the whole of the continent of Europe should fall into the hands of military despots; it seems equally impossible that we, with our American brethren, should lose our institutions or our enthusiasm for liberty. Here, then, are the two parties in the great cause that threatens to divide and convulse the whole world. What will be required of us? What attempts will be made on us? What crusades ought we spontaneously to undertake? What assistance in any case are we to expect from America? For our islands we have no fear. Despotism is great on land, but impotent and craven on the sea. Wherever our ships can go, there we have no compeer. As on the former occasion referred to by Mr. Walker, we can protect the New World from the tyrannies of the Old. What, then remains to be done? Are we expected to land on the continent of Europe, and fight single-handed with four huge military monarchies, mustering two of three millions of armed men ? What degree of assistance are we to expect from America in marching into the centre of Europe ? None, we should think. However, there are many things to be considered. A hundred years ago what was Russia? A hundred years hence what will be the United States? An empire, with not far short of two hundred million souls. Should anything happen to us—should we ever he exposed to unmerited indignity and oppression, and our services to Europe be forgotten, we have only to pray Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor, and that the prayer will one day bring across. on occasion, the messengers of a state that can apply to its purposes the resources of a continent and two

THE CUBAN PRISONERS RELEASED. It will be seen by the news from Spain, by the steamer Africa, that the prisoners engaged in the late expedition against Cuba, who may be citizens of the United States, whether in Spain or in Cuba, have all been pardoned.

It may perhaps be doubted whether the terms of

While, upon the reasons which we have already rendered, we still hold that the policy of our government in this whole matter has been in many impor-The committee met at 10 o'clock on Thursday tant respects erroneous, we cannot but regard this re-Richmond Enquirer,

> Modesty is a quality that highly adorns a woman, Lou. Dem.